

THE

LARGEST LIBERTY DEFINED,

A TREATISE

ON THE

INHERENT RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MAN.

BY L. W. RYCKMAN.

The thief sometimes effects his escape from justice by joining in the cry of stop thief! The practical agrarian, with greater effrontery, while he is living luxuriously in unproductive idleness upon the wealth created by, and of right belonging to others, is ever raising his voice against Agrarianism, and denouncing as levellers and destructives all those citizens who would wish to render the laws honest and efficient protectors of private property. *The boot on the other leg.*

“While prisons, palaces, and poor-houses exist in a country, other evidence is not needed to prove that Republican principles have not been practically adopted.”—*Anon.*

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LARGEST LIBERTY DEFINED, &c. :

FELLOW WORKINGMEN :—

INURED as I have been to toil from my infancy, for my daily bread, and prevented by means of corresponding circumstances from receiving a scholastic education, I have to crave that your liberal feelings for a fellow craft will influence your judgment upon the following pages and permit the motive with which they have been written to be an apology for the *execution*. As to the principles therein advocated, I have no favour to crave but that of a fair and candid investigation, for they are the only guides to the enjoyment of peace, plenty, virtue and happiness.

The foundations of the system of Nature are not more certain and fixed, than that these principles will be sooner or later adopted in the government of social societies. Years may elapse before that adoption, but till they are recognized the rich will become richer and the poor poorer : the strong will find additional means to oppress the weak, and the cunning to trample upon the right of the honest and unsuspecting.

In the earliest ages governments were formed by the strong, who were reckless in their strength, with the sole object of perpetuating power in their own hands, to control at will the lives and fortunes of the people. But as it soon became apparent that the strength, mental and physical, which had given them the ascendancy, were not hereditary, that the son of the greatest and most gifted tyrant might be the merest dunce, artifice was resorted to for the purpose of regulating the succession to power, in conformity with the wishes and the *supposed* interests of those holding that power.—I emphasise the word *supposed* for no human being can have a real interest in opposing the principles of natural justice.

The first great fundamental error of the human mind which rendered them the willing slaves of their self-constituted masters was, and is the opinion that one set of men can be naturally the enemies of another: and upon this broad basis of wrong is erected all the superstructure of prejudice, of nation, colour, sect, party and class. It is this which has arrayed the whole human race in arms against each other, and has rendered this fair creation a field of strife and violence where the strong always prey upon the weak and where the whole mass have, generally, been employed in degrading, corrupting and destroying each other.

But this great cause of wrongs and wretchedness, the annals of whose operations we call *history* is but a secondary, not a primary cause : the original principle is that of monopoly—it is the desire of the aristocrats to engross the wealth produced by industry or, in other words to perpetuate his own tyranny and the slavery of others. Again it was apparent that there was a tendency to religious reverence in the minds of

all men, and it must be evident that the abuse of religion creating a religious aristocracy, connecting its support directly or indirectly with the accumulation of wealth, has ever had the baneful effect of binding men to the support of creeds whether they entertain them sincerely or not ; thus subjecting the advocate of any faith to the suspicion of hypocrisy. It moreover has too strongly stimulated the proselyting spirit and has thus produced a rich harvest of persecution and infidelity, neither of which had existed if this obstacle in the path of pure devotion were removed. The craft and cunning of power were soon exerted to convert this universal tendency to the great end of perpetuating the mental and physical degradation of the people ; it being well understood that such is the consequent result of intellectual inferiority. The ministers of religion were found but too apt to listen to the blandishments of the aristocracy, to hunger after temporal as well as spiritual power, and to make their religious functions subserve their views of political aggrandizement, and the amassing of wealth. Still keep in mind, my dear fellow citizens, that in all the Protean forms through which history traces the career of superstition and fanaticism, that the latent spring of all their operations is this, to gain the enjoyment of the product of labour without producing it themselves by the application of useful industry.

Thus we are enabled to perceive at one glance the glaring and transparent fact that all we can learn from history is this, that there ever has been a perpetual struggle of the people of the world to amass large, but indefinite amounts of wealth. That up to the present time the few have been enabled to engross to themselves an undue proportion of this wealth.

In the history of the world and all the forms of government which have been inflicted upon it, the principles of legislation, up to the time of the American Revolution, were entirely artificial and arbitrary, systems of incomprehensible and mysterious expedients well calculated to support the policies of aristocratic sway and to perpetuate the slavery of the working classes.

The peculiar condition of the population of the Colonies at the commencement of the revolutionary war was favorable, in a great degree, to the assertion of the rights of man based upon data furnished by nature, and to the abolishment of the aristocratic institutions of ignorant and barbarous ages. In accordance, therefore, with those favorable circumstances, and directed by the noblest ambition the sages of that glorious era announced for the first time in the political history of the world, the natural equality of man recognizing that there existed in every member of the human family rights that were natural and inalienable, and still further that those rights were equal.

This declaration was received with loud acclamations of applause by the friends of freedom and the philanthropists of every clime ; and the world is still regarding with feelings of the most scrutinizing interest, the progress of our principles in government, noting carefully our success in carrying into perfect operation the great doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, or our retrogradations to the paths of Aristocracy and Monopoly as established, ere yet the sublime discovery of the equal rights of man had been proclaimed.

It is one of the objects of these few pages to show what has been our course as a nation in regard to the great principles of republican liberty since the Declaration of Independence to this time. The leading object of that Magna Charta of the United States was emphatically to announce

to the world a firm and unalterable determination to sever the bonds which had theretofore connected the government of this country with that of Great Britain: that this was so, is apparent from its history from the time of its first suggestion to that of its promulgation, from the title and the general scope of its reasoning; the declaration of natural rights contained therein, though of the utmost importance as the basis of republican institutions and the source of inappreciable blessings yet to be derived from its adoption, was, no doubt, considered by many at that time as an incidental matter, calculated to prevent an ill-timed strife to establish orders of hereditary legislation, and by others as a mere flower of rhetoric.

The first opportunity that was afforded to the people of the United States to show how far they appreciated the maxim of the natural equality of man was in the convention to form a constitution for the government of the nation. In the proceedings of this body, however, we find no evidence of their having any idea that it was their duty to define what were the natural rights of man or to regulate their legislation by data, derived from the unerring wisdom of nature, displayed in her works, and mainly in her human offspring. They met at a crisis of great public calamity, on the verge of anarchy, and they adopted with some slight alteration the forms of the British constitution, the chief points of difference being the extension of the elective franchise, the prohibition of all hereditary titles and offices, the separation of church and state, and the rejection of the law of primogeniture; and also the inestimable privilege of altering, amending and repealing, the constitution thus formed according as the will of the people, fairly ascertained, should dictate. Thus in establishing the form of government under which we live, it will be found that most, if not all of the points in which it varies from that of Great Britain, are such as were generally required by a people who had no acknowledged Royal Family, nor that necessary appendage to royalty a titled aristocracy; and whose social condition was, nearer an equality than any country of equal extent and population ever possessed. Alas! that a form of government professedly instituted for the improvement of human happiness, and the protection of the people in the enjoyment of all their social and political rights, should prove in practice, incompetent to effect "a consummation so devoutly to be wished." In all the debates upon the adoption of the constitution and in all the publications of that period, you will find that although the extension of popular rights was advocated by powerful and philanthropic minds, yet, the prevalent feeling was jealousy of the people's privileges and the great question was, as it had ever been in the formation of all former governments, not what privileges could be safely extended to the people, but to what restrictions would they submit.

That the constitution was such as any considerable number of the members of the convention would have chosen, has ever been denied even by those who formed it; and with undoubted truth, they were not in a situation to do what, as philanthropists, they would have wished, but, on the contrary, they were in a position where it was imperative on them to compromise feelings, opinions and prejudices, and to devise some sort of efficient government to reassure the public mind and prevent irremediable confusion. Their success astonished the world, for but few expected they would be able to form a safe government for so extensive a country upon a republican basis: yet will the world have more reason to deplore our weakness and despise our imbecility, should we fail to weed out the tyrannical features of the British constitution and laws, then adopted into

our own, than if American liberty had never been named. The demagogues of party, the holders and seekers of office, have been in all ages and all nations, ready to array their fellow citizens in attitudes of bitter hostility against each other as the enemies of the dearest interests of their common country, and are ever prone to praise the constitution under which they have or hope to achieve and exercise power, and enjoy popularity: but it becomes not the American citizen to hold that any form of government is perfect, where aristocracy, elevated upon the pedestal of monopoly rears its Hydra-head, producing "all that vice and crime and suffering" which afflict the world. No! let those who are ready to pay the homage which imbecility pays to ignorance, be content to admit, that because our sires were virtuous and patriotic, that their "*degenerate sons*" will never be able to improve upon the model of government they left us.

But let those who would do honor to the American name, emulate the deeds of their patriot sires—they found things not as they should be, and they gained an imperishable name by improving what they found wrong. If then *we* would be worthy of the high trust reposed in our hands as conservators of the rights, which, from adverse circumstances they could do but little more than announce as abstract theories, we too should press onward in the glorious cause of equal rights, we should define them clearly, promulgate them extensively, and "advocate them with a vigilance which never sleeps and a perseverance that never tires."

If we would test the adequacy of the system as it now stands to equalize the political, social and moral condition of the people, we must analyze the nature and tendencies of the means relied upon to bring about these great results, and if we find that from their nature they are totally inadequate, we should be industrious to discover and resolute to adopt sounder principles of jurisprudence—maxims that would not stop at the greatest good of the greater number, but such as would secure the greatest good of every member of the community.

Who that has had many years' experience of the operation of the present system of government, based as it is upon the empirical and absurd maxims of the political economists, *that the accumulation of wealth in a nation is a sure criterion of national prosperity and happiness*, but can perceive the fallacy of the theory? Who so blind as cannot perceive that the maxim, that national virtue and happiness increase in an inverse ratio to national accumulation, is immeasurably nearer the truth.

When did the first cry of the people of Israel arise against the oppression of their rulers? not until the *golden* reign of Solomon, when the industry of the people was absorbed in erecting stupendous monuments of the pride of their masters and of their own abject condition.

When did Athens touch the zenith of her glory? When as a community she was young, vigorous, united and poor! When was her condition so abject that her gods were removed from the pedestals in their consecrated temples for the purpose of installing, in their places, any military marauders who thought them worthy of being plundered and scourged by his cohorts? Not until the principle of unlimited accumulation had debased the mass, and enervated and corrupted their leaders.

When was Rome, republican Rome the wonder of surrounding nations for their devotedness to the principles of justice and sterling integrity of character? When they were equal in social condition, hardy and industrious, all feeling an equal responsibility in tilling or defending the soil, before the great accumulation of wealth and power had taught a portion of

her people to consider any social intercourse with their fellow citizens of a different class as a gross contamination.

Whence arose the gross abominations that sacred and profane history record as bringing swift and utter destruction upon Babylon, Tyre, Sidon and Carthage, but from the practise of the same principles of accumulation which are at this day adopted by all the nations of the commercial world as the perfection of the science of political economy.

After the fall of Rome and the lapse of centuries of Gothic ignorance, commerce, science and the arts were restored in Italy, and we behold in the iron sway of commercial Venice, the Queen of the seas, another illustrious instance of the irresistible tendency of the accumulation of wealth. In FACT, such is the case whether the FORM of government be monarchical, republican, despotic, oligarchical or aristocratical.

And lastly let us call to mind the condition of England, the most illustrious instance of successful accumulation in the annals of history and the land whose institutions have the nearest affinity to our own. And here in what was once "*Merry old England*" we find the accumulated savings of a thousand years of industry, following its natural and certain tendency to concentrate in the hands of the few—we find, I say, this mass of wealth (as in all the preceding instances of monied nations which have risen, flourished and fallen) an instrument of oppression so powerful that the majority of her sons and daughters look forward to no better prospect than to terminate a life of extreme toil and privation in the parish work-house, if indeed they should survive the perfection of their skill and their strength to perform any further labor. So entirely artificial and arbitrary is the system that the greatest blessings of heaven are rendered nugatory and inoperative for the good of the people. Of the truths and facts here asserted you can have full proof by seeking information from the sons of that unhappy land who have sought a refuge in this country, and who will prove how rapidly we are approaching a similar condition in our national career, produced by the same causes—ACCUMULATION ! MONOPOLY !—ARISTOCRACY !

Enough, I presume, has now been said to demonstrate the inadequacy and uselessness of the accumulating principle as a means of achieving or even advancing NATIONAL HAPPINESS.

The diffusion of scientific education is perhaps more relied upon by the philanthropists of the age as a means of perpetuating and improving the republican institutions of our beloved country than any other that could be named. If moral elevation of character were sure to keep pace with the advance of each citizen in the pursuit of intellectual improvement, this would, no doubt, be a sure staff to lean upon : it is however but a Syren song,

“ Which keeps the word of promise to our ear,
But breaks it to our hopes.”

History is full of proof that corruption and literary refinement have ever been found linked hand in hand—the precursors of the misery and downfall of nations.

The Augustan age was the first of the Roman Empire. France reached the highest point of her literary glory under the iron sway of Lewis the fourteenth, and I venture to assert that the literary greatness of England now occupies, the very highest ascendancy it ever attained, and the degradation and suffering of the people are more intense than at any former period of her history.

By the unremitted exertions of benevolent and patriotic citizens directed to promote the extension of knowledge and education, much has been done to imbue the minds of the rising generation with the elementary principles of science ; extraordinary success has attended their efforts, and yet who that is a close observer of the signs of the times, would hazard the assertion that we have improved in public or private virtue ? Who will deny that we are making rapid advances in political and moral depravity—that, while we are boasting of the security to be derived from the diffusion of education, we are as remarkable for the increase of crime and vice and profligacy, as we are for our advancement in science.

Again, if the people are to be qualified to preserve and improve their institutions by the general diffusion of education, there must be an education so generally perfected as to render them competent to judge wisely of the principles upon which our government is founded, and of their application on all questions of importance which might arise ; they must be qualified in the exercise of the elective franchise to distinguish between the merits of the Judges upon the bench, and to decide between the conflicting claims of the most profound statesmen, that this extent of information can ever be hoped for among the mass of the people, you will perceive is impossible, when you reflect that you scarcely ever find two lawyers of the greatest eminence to agree as to the extent and applicableness of any important legal principle, and that the greatest statesmen are not more fortunate in coming to identical conclusions on great questions of national policy. If then those talented and science-cradled individuals cannot agree upon those matters, how are the populace, whose whole time and attention are drawn with the cords of overpowering interest to the engrossing subject of gaining a livelihood, be expected to obtain a sufficient degree of knowledge to render them safe and intelligent depositories of human rights. Are they not, on the contrary, likely to degenerate into the heated and ignorant tools of factious demagogues, or to become careless of exercising a right wherein the mysterious nature of the system of national and civil jurisprudence, will render it uncertain that their best efforts would operate beneficially for the country : they will either entirely omit to exercise the right, or only use it as a means of promoting their private and pecuniary interests.

The maxims of republican liberty suppose equal political rights and power to vest in each citizen. This equality of political right and influence can never be enjoyed while a vestige of the accumulative principle is sanctioned by the laws, "Dominion rests upon property ;" and while the laws suffer large masses of the wealth produced by industry to accumulate in the hands of the idle and unproductive, those who have the power to engross this wealth will have a power over the support of those who produce it ; and having power over their *support*, they will necessarily have a power over their *will* ; the consequence will follow as naturally as the light follows the sun, that the aristocracy of wealth will rule the land. All the difficulties heretofore enumerated, all the ills we suffer, and all the dangers we have to apprehend, arise from this one source, the adopting into our system the judicial code and legislative principles of Great Britain, instead of causing our legislation to harmonize with the laws of nature, defending each citizen in the enjoyment of all his natural rights and enforcing upon all a compliance with their social obligations.

As a denizen of the earth, man is subject to the laws of nature.

As a member of society he becomes subject to the regulations of the social compact, which should never run counter to natural law.

The law of nature is always the proper predominating authority ; the rights it confers are inherent and unalienable, and the obligations it imposes universally and eternally binding ; the law of nature is the perfection of the wisdom of God.

The social law partakes of the imperfection of the reason of man, and is good or evil in proportion as it agrees or disagrees with the laws of nature ; and this harmony or disagreement is an unerring test of the progress of reason towards the attainment of the happiness of the human race.

The natural right of man is freedom from personal restraint or injury, and the right to achieve and enjoy property.

Property or wealth consists of the means of shelter, sustenance, physical, intellectual and moral improvement and enjoyment.

Nature bestows this property or wealth upon man, subject to one sole condition, which is that he should put forth his industry to develop her resources in the production of means to gratify his wants or minister to his convenience.

From the foregoing circumstances it might appear that all wealth was the joint product of the bounty of nature and the industry of man ; but as the gifts of nature are the common inheritance of her children, and as her gifts do not attain the nature of property until the industry of man has appropriated them to his use—a more apposite definition would seem to be that *all real wealth is the product of human industry usefully applied.*

The question here very naturally arises, is there any limit to the natural right of man to achieve and enjoy property, and if any, what ?

In order then to place this matter in as clear a light as possible, we will suppose a time when there was but one man upon the earth, and consider his right to the possession of the creation, and if we find any certain and natural limit to his right, we pray that no aristocrat should set up a greater right in his own behalf than was possessed by the first man that trod in solitary majesty the world's broad and beautiful surface.

If we reflect deeply upon this subject we shall find that there are two natural limits to the right of man to achieve and enjoy property, viz. space and time—Now first as regards space : the earth was made for the whole race of mankind, and not for individuals ; and as we all come into existence with the same natural rights and subject to the same natural obligations, each therefore has his right to appropriate the unoccupied or unproductive face of nature to his own use, *limited by his capacity to render it productive by his industry.*

Secondly, as respects time, the rights of man are by nature limited to the duration of his natural life ; he can have no rights which as a man he cannot enjoy ; his rights and duties are co-relative, and they cease and determine together.

When by action of social law, by craft and cunning or rude violence, the product of the usual industry of one member of the community, or any part thereof is destroyed or transferred to the use of another, without said member receiving an equal amount in value of labour in exchange, his natural rights are violated, and he becomes a slave just in the proportion to his loss of his enjoyment of the full intrinsic value of his property.

When by action of law, cunning, craft, or rude violence, the unproductive parts of nature are shut up from those who are desirous to put forth their

industry for the purpose of raising the means of sustenance and shelter, a tyrannical power is exercised, the natural rights of man violated, and the people oppressed.

Thus it will be perceived that the ponderous volumes of laws, filled with endless distinctions, most of them so subtle as to be totally incomprehensible to men of ordinary capacity, and which saddles the productive classes with the support of a countless throng of judges, barristers, attornies, juries, catchpoles and prisons; the enormous additional expense of one National and twenty-six State Legislatures, continually engaged in abortive efforts to patch up and keep the unwieldy mass of folly and ignorance in motion, are all inefficient means for securing to the citizens the right of achieving and enjoying property; and the great reason of their inefficiency is, that the titles to property contained in the books of Common Law and the Statutes, are derived from the arbitrary and tyrannical systems of the feudal ages, when the people and the soil were alike the property of their baronial lords.

The laws of nature are founded upon the equal and uncompromising principles of justice, and so strict is the principle that it is impossible for any member of society to omit the performance of his social obligation without adding a proportionate amount to the burthen to be borne by his fellow citizens; nor can public gratitude, or any other feeling, justify the passing laws to exonerate any citizen from the obligation to apply his industry usefully. Whenever any rise above the unerring line of justice, it is ever at the expense of the depression of the mass.

Man is an animal eminently social; all the strongest propensities of his nature tend to bind him to his kind, by the ties of social intercourse; so strong is this love of society in man, that the most profound professors of mental philosophy have agreed that to deprive criminals of society is the severest of all punishments, death alone excepted.

Nor is this propensity to live in society the mere desire to herd together, to see and be seen by our fellows. It is the consequence of affection and sympathy in all men; and here it may be proper to enumerate some of the principal propensities and sentiments which hold society together, that by estimating their power in stimulating and controlling human action, we might come to some conclusion as to the capability of man to enjoy happiness in the social state, or in other terms to decide whether the happiness of the individual is not consistent with the happiness of the whole, under the administration of just laws established in accordance with the laws of nature.

All are possessed of the following propensities and sentiments, varying in their relative power, viz :

Amativeness	Love of the Sexes
Philoprogenitiveness	Love of Progeny
Adhesiveness	Love of Friends
Inhabitiveness	Love of Country
Approbativeness	Love of Popularity
Veneration	Love of God and Virtue
Benevolence	Natural Sympathy, or Love of our Fellow Creatures
Conscientiousness	Love of Justice

The mere enumeration of those social and moral virtues supersedes the necessity of argument to prove that the happiness of man depends upon that of the community of which he may be a member; every faculty of

the mind having a strong moral tendency when not depraved by injurious culture—the consequence of artificial, arbitrary and unjust laws, founded in ignorance, and subversive of the rights of man. It will be perceived that the gratification of any one of the sentiments and propensities above stated is a source of pleasure to any rational human being, and that the greatest happiness he can enjoy would arise from the harmonious and certain enjoyment of them all.

In the present state of society the gratification of a portion of these propensities, must generally be purchased by the sacrifice of the pleasure to be derived from the exercise of the remainder.

In the present mad struggle for wealth, when poverty is so much contemned, and so much undue deference paid to wealth, what parent would dare to teach his son to go forth into the exciting and conscience-wearing strife of business, with a firm determination to follow the golden rule of doing upon all occasions to others the same justice they would wish them to do to him? Such counsel, if followed, would lead him to poverty, privation and contempt; thus the sense of justice must be violated daily by those who would maintain a respectable standing in society.

Before leaving this subject of mental philosophy, let me call your attention to the hitherto unappreciated, but immense power of the love of approbation over human action. This faculty of the mind is to the human intellect what the main-spring is to the watch; the love of wife, children, friends, country, virtue, fellow creatures, and justice; all—all are tributary streams, swelling the great and powerful tide of the love of approbation. There are none so high but hunger and thirst after the applause of their fellow-creatures; there are none so low in the scale of humanity as to be insensible to its influence. Thus we find, that he who can command the united applause of a nation, avoids to identify himself with party: another courts the hatred of a large portion of his fellow-citizens, for the purpose of securing the applause of the party to which he may be attached.

In private life most men are content to secure the applause of wife, children, and friends; but if poverty presses, and the circle of approbation must be narrowed, how often are friends sacrificed for the purpose of preserving the means of securing the approbation of the family circle. And what is generally the fate of him, who, driven from one vantage ground of approbation to another, in a downward career, loses all hope of gaining the approbation of any of his fellow-creatures; despair takes possession of his soul, he commits some act of desperate violence upon the persons of those naturally most dear to him, or rushes upon suicide as a relief from his miseries.

In a social state, when the natural rights and obligations of man were supported and enforced, this love of approbation being installed in its proper and natural authority over the actions of men, would entirely obviate the necessity of enacting any penal laws.

Having shown that we are naturally endowed with strong moral tendencies, and that we must depend for our happiness upon the happiness of others, let us inquire what are the powers given us for the achievement of happiness, and the rightful application of those powers. The power possessed by man, by the use of which he must obtain happiness, is the power of reason; and the question at once arises, is this power adequate to the achievement of the happiness of the human race individually and collectively?

If we compare the nature of the object to be attained with the nature

of the power by which it is to be attained, we shall be assured, with the certainty of mathematical demonstration, that the power of reason is amply sufficient for the achievement of the desired result.

It is a maxim of sound philosophy universally admitted, that man is in all ages and climes the same ;

That the differences which appear between individuals, classes and nations, are the result of difference of circumstances, and not produced by any difference of animal nature ;

That his happiness always depends upon the gratification of the same animal propensities, the activity of the same perceptions and reflective faculties, and the exercise of the same moral sentiments.

It is apparent from the foregoing view, that human happiness is a fixed point, and not a progressive principle ; if it were not so, how utterly feeble and worthless would be the labors of the philanthropist and philosopher—a fruitless pursuit of an ignus fatuus—a delusive hope, without a certain “habitation or a name.”

Suppose for instance, that a man is enjoying a happy matrimonial connection, obedient, intelligent and affectionate offspring, warm and devoted friends, the approbation of his fellow-citizens, free from want or the fear of want, without temptation to injure his fellow-creatures, with a certainty that the blessings he enjoyed were the common lot of the community, and that they would be continued to his descendants, who would fail to perceive that all that is essential to human felicity is comprised in the circumstances here supposed.

The power of reason with which we are endowed as a means to obtain happiness, is ever progressive in its nature ; treasuring up knowledge from the experience of the past, to serve as a guide to warn us against persevering in the paths of error, and stimulating us to ceaseless activity in the pursuit of truth. And thus we are justified in asserting this as an incontrovertible truth, that as the happiness of man is a fixed and certain principle, and as the reasoning power is eternally progressing towards that point, it must eventually overtake the desired object.

The objects of the social compact, when founded upon the eternal principles of justice, are to defend and protect every member of the community in the enjoyment of all his natural rights, and the enforcing upon each a compliance with his natural obligations, with the additional ones arising from the social union, that the strong should support the weak when under pressure of misfortune.

Aristocratical and artificial forms of government recognize the right of individuals to hold in possession, by an indefeasible title, portions of the face of nature, without the least obligation to render it useful to furnish support for themselves or others, and to transmit the same in hereditary descent, with the power to shut it up from cultivation until some of his fellow creatures, who have as good a natural title to the soil as any human being can have, shall become so far his slave as to furnish him with the products of industry for the privilege to exercise his inherent and inalienable right to put forth his industry upon the unproductive face of nature, in order to obtain the means of sustenance, shelter, and moral and intellectual improvement.

Any law that establishes or supports such an arbitrary monopoly of land is in violation of the law of nature, and the fruitful source of crime, vice, depravity and degradation in the people, and of idleness, corruption and profligacy in the aristocracy.

But the greatest evil that has grown out of the existing system is the

use of an intrinsically worthless standard of values : were the only proof of ownership of property that would establish a title, the evidence of having produced the same by useful industry, and the only measure of value the equal amount of labor, the principles of justice could be enforced and private property be safe in the hands of those whose meritorious exertions had created it.

As it is by the use of a worthless standard of gold and silver and bank paper and credit, the whole wealth of the world (which is created by the industry of the working classes) become a gambler's stake, and the idler and those who are employed in useless and pernicious industry, not only avoid their natural obligation to contribute to the general wealth their proper quota of useful industry, but waste in luxury or hoard with avaricious voracity the produce of the sweat and toil of their over-wrought fellow citizens.

True republicanism can never exist ; equality of rights can never be maintained where this engine of fraud and monopoly is tolerated—it is of its very essence to accumulate in the hands of the few, to exercise a potent sway over the support of the productive classes, and by that power over their support to influence their will, rendering those who are the really wealthy members of society (as being the producers of all the wealth upon which it subsists) the slaves both mentally and physically of those who play the game of commerce with the vile and intrinsically worthless counters called money.

As by consulting nature we are enabled to ascertain the natural right of man to the soil, as also the limitation of said right and the obligation attached to the enjoyment thereof, so by consulting the unerring principles of natural justice, we shall discover that the only just standard of exchange of moveable property, is the relative amount of useful labor incorporated in the articles proposed to be exchanged, regulated by the wisdom of the community, wherein the wealth proposed to be exchanged was produced or to be consumed, whether that labor were the means of sustenance or shelter, or the improvement of science in the diffusion of useful knowledge, or merely promotive of such amusement as the majority of the people might be willing to patronize.

By adopting these two plain, comprehensible, practicable and just principles of government in the place of the thousand volumes of incomprehensible and mystery enveloped jargon, derived from the codes that were found practically consistent with the vices which produced the downfall of Rome and the oppressions of the age of villianage in Britain, and the still greater oppressions of the present day in the same unhappy country, we shall be enabled to secure to ourselves and posterity all the blessings that are set forth by the prophet as characterizing the age of unalloyed happiness called the *Millenium*.

By opening the unproductive face of nature to all those who are now driven to vice and crime by want or the fear of the disgrace they are taught to believe attaches to labor, they would find an easy and certain path to respectability and usefulness, and we should cease to display to the world that most absurd and contemptible specimen of a people whose laws heap degradation upon the vile in order to improve their moral condition.

Nature knows no tendency to hoard and accumulate; she gives to the human family at all times the mental and physical power to draw from her bountiful bosom abundance for the gratification of their utmost powers of enjoyment : and indeed so great an enemy is nature to the accumulative

principle, that her staple products cannot be preserved for a long succession of years, they must be consumed or they perish, and it is only by the use of those false and deceptive cheats, gold, silver, bank paper and credit, that the productive industry of ages can be hoarded and used as an ever-increasing and multiplying power to oppress the productive classes.

By restoring to man his natural right to cultivate the soil, and establishing labour as the sole standard of exchange, the physical, social, moral and intellectual powers of the members of the community would at once be put in a state of requisition for mutual benefit; there would be but one class, being all engaged in occupations of useful but not fatiguing labor. The moral sentiments would extend their influence over the whole community, for all history and experience prove that they predominate or become inoperative in proportion as the laws approach or recede from the principles of natural justice.

The line of natural and political justice is direct and straight—none can be elevated above it without depressing (to the extent of his own elevation) some of his fellow citizens. The social condition would thus be equalized, for the man of science would come in contact with the man of labor and the exchange of moral and intellectual treasures for the products of the soil or mechanical ingenuity would be a bond of intercourse mutually beneficial: the temptation to crime and vice would be nearly annihilated, each individual being self-dependent, want or the fear of want would never approach their dwellings, for abundance would ever be the result of the equal dependance on useful industry by all the members of a community.

Large and extensive communities are the result of vast aristocratical designs, the object of which is ever to wield the masses, and are entirely inconsistent with the proper culture of the moral sentiments.

You will perceive plainly from the foregoing observations, that in the assertion of the perfect equality of the rights of man, the story was but half told. It gives to each an equal chance if fairly carried into effect, to advance his happiness in the heated race of competition in proportion to his particular energy: but by enforcing the obligations that are as inherent and as inalienable as the rights from which they are eternally inseparable: nothing is left to chance—the greatest good of each member of the community is rendered as certain as the motion of the heavenly bodies.

There is no individual gifted with common sense who, could he have the arrangement of the circumstances which should surround and influence the education of a child, no matter where born or of what parents, but could so arrange them as to make it certain, that the tone of mind of that child when arrived at maturity will be moral and respectable. The social circumstances, where every citizen is dependent upon his own industry usefully applied, would be the best means to produce such a result.

The Rev. Dr. Channing in one of his discourses exults, that the property of the nation is in a constant state of transition; that but a small proportion of it is at any one time in the hands of the rich; let it be admitted that the statement of the Rev. Gentleman is true and for a moment contemplate the struggle that is going on before our eyes for the possession of this wealth—do we not find in this heated race in pursuit of money every moral sentiment paralyzed and every mental energy degraded into the servile instruments of avarice. In the broad license

given to selfishness and fraud do we not behold an eternal triumph secured to those who encouraged in useless and pernicious pursuits over those who toil for the purpose of producing sustenance, shelter and the 'useful conveniences' of society.

Blind indeed must he be to the inevitable tendencies of things who cannot perceive that in this uncertain strife the principles of religion, morality and patriotism, must fall a sacrifice upon the altar of mammon.

If the whole natural rights of man are not to be acceded to every citizen of the United States, then is it a base mockery and contemptible hypocrisy to pretend that the government of the country is founded upon principles of natural equality. From the commencement of the government of this nation the people have been divided into parties, which parties have been characterised by a greater or less desire to extend the influence of the people in exercising control over their agents.

The leaders of the democratic party have at all times been the declared friends of reform; they have ever professed to array themselves in direct opposition to aristocracy; and as champions of the people's rights, the people have reposed their confidence in them; they have held the reigns of the general government for a period not short of the third of a century; and the good we have achieved as a nation, and the evils we have shunned in all that time, must redound to their glory; and if errors have been committed, they cannot shrink from the just award of history.

Fellow-working men: To this large portion of the people—to this democratic party, we have a right to look with a firm reliance for support in our efforts for the restitution of the rights of industry; in our endeavors to establish upon the basis of eternal justice the enjoyment of the natural and inherent rights of man, and the enforcement of the natural and inherent obligations which are indissolubly connected therewith.

We have a right to rely upon the aid of the Democratic party in the first place, because we are a large majority of said party.

Secondly, because they are the avowed advocates of Republican reform, and a truly Republican reform is all we demand, and all that is needful to secure the greatest good, not only of the majority, but of every soul in the community.

Thirdly, because the literary official organ of that party, "The Washington Globe," has adopted as a standing maxim at the head of the paper, these words, "the world is governed too much." We have, then, a just right to infer that this most significant and true maxim is meant to express the feelings of that party with whom the editor is connected.

The foregoing pages will shew to the attentive reader that the world is governed too much, and that it will ever be so governed until the social legislation accord with the legislation of nature.

The subject of reform to which the attention of the democratic party has for the last few years been most particularly drawn, is that of the currency; and the efforts of the Administration have been directed to prevent the increase of paper money and banking privileges, and so far as possible to bring the country back to a metallic medium of exchange. That every extension of the currency by means of bank paper and credit, has the effect to withdraw the most active and efficient members of the productive classes from the pursuit of useful industry. Identifying them in feeling and in fact with the aristocracy who live upon the profits of the industry of others, is an incontrovertible fact; and so far as the course of the Administration has intended to accomplish the prevention of an evil so dangerous and demoralizing, it is entitled to unqualified praise.

But opposition to paper money is but of the nature of a temporary expedient, while the gold and silver standard of value is recognized by our laws; a standard intrinsically as worthless as the bank rags and shinplasters so much decried and execrated by the advocates of an exclusive metallic currency. The war must be "never ending—still beginning," which does not strike at the root of the evil—which does not aim at the destruction of every deceptive measure of the value of the produce of industry, the only true standard of which the God of Nature has made to consist in the equal amount of useful labor embodied in the product, harmonizing with the equal capacities of men for enjoyment, their equal competency for production, and their *equal obligation to be self-dependent*.

If, however, the leaders of the Democratic party stand in the foremost ranks of reform; if they are the true friends of the people, the advocates of the largest liberty, why have they limited their exertions to opposing the encroachments of the aristocracy? Why have they not adopted, for the diffusion of political knowledge, the means resorted to by all bodies of citizens engaged in the important concerns of life? Every branch of scientific knowledge has its collegiate professorships, and if by close application and repeated experiments new truths are discovered, means are immediately sought for their promulgation throughout the scientific world.

For the improvement of the mechanical arts, behold those efficient and powerful combinations, Mechanics' Institutes.

Observe the inappreciable benefits arising from Agricultural Societies.

Observe, again, with what alacrity every thing that has the most remote bearing upon the interests of the law, in any of its various ramifications, is attended to by its members, and what especial care is taken that its uncertainties, its mysteries, its dignities and profit should forever remain inviolate.

All have remarked, and multitudes with disgust, the pertinacity with which the mercantile interests infest the halls of legislation, both of the States and of the United States, forever crying, "give—give!" And while these and thousands of other interests of greater or less importance are associating for the purpose of advancing their own particular interests, shall the greatest purpose that can stimulate the energies of the human mind, (the freedom and happiness of the human family,) be intrusted to the hazard of blind chance? Or shall we not rather unite, not only to defend the liberties we possess, but to weed from the garden of freedom every root of monopoly and aristocracy; ere growing to seed, they in their rankness overshadow and choak the growth of youthful liberty? The omission of the leaders of the Democratic party to organize societies and institutes, to discover, define, and extend the boundaries of human right, proves the fact that the *rights of industry can never be safely intrusted to the care of members of the aristocracy of office, of the law or of wealth*—the working-man will find that his case has been disposed of by a corrupt judge, a packed jury, and a partial verdict. If we would have justice, we must win it by our own exertions; we must learn to know the full extent of our rights, and having clear and practical views of their limits and just bearing, we must determine to assert them temperately but firmly, on all proper occasions. We shall thus be enabled to shun the arts of the wily demagogue, who by impassioned and violent appeals, would excite to mad frenzy our feelings against our fellow citizens, upon points of opinion not affecting, in the remotest degree, the principles upon which our political and moral improvement depends.

The Whig party as an important division of the American people are identified in the minds of the people with the idea of conservatism or jealousy of popular privileges, as but little confidence has been manifested by this party in the capability of the people for self-government, it is not wonderful that they as a party should have but few testimonials of the confidence of the people to revert to ; yet no doubt there are in the ranks of this party (who as a whole seem to have so much more to fear from political changes than they have to hope for,) many individuals who are as anxious as any philanthropist can be, to behold the advent of salutary reforms. As an illustrious instance of this disposition I will call your attention to the remarkable and, to the lover of human liberty, the soul-cheering doctrines and advice of William H. Seward, the present Whig Governor of the State of New-York, contained in his letter or address to the Sunday School Union, July 4th, 1839.

“Our institutions excellent as they are, have hitherto produced but a small portion of the beneficent results they are calculated to bestow upon the people : the chief of these benefits is EQUALITY ! we indeed enjoy equality of civil rights, but we have not yet attained, we have only approximated towards what is more important *equality of social condition*.”

“From the beginning of the world aristocracy has existed and society has been divided into classes, the rich and the poor, the strong and the dependent, the learned and the unlearned, and *from this inequality of social condition* have resulted the ignorance, the crime and the sufferings of the people.”

“We should be degenerate sons of our heroic forefathers, did we not assail this aristocracy, remove the barriers between the rich and the poor, break the control of the few over the many, extend the largest liberty to the greatest number, and strengthen in every way the Democratic principles of our Constitution.”

These bold and generous sentiments go the whole length of this essay, except that they leave the extent and manner to which it asserts that it is our duty to assail the aristocracy (as the professions of all other political leaders have left it) perfectly vague and undefined. Now, if it is our duty to assail the aristocracy for the purpose of obtaining restitution of rights, which we believe they restrain us from enjoying, it is the part of candour and fair dealing to give due notice to the party to be attacked, of the nature and extent of our claims ; that they may weigh the justice of our cause and estimate the advantages and dangers that may be attendant upon our success, and prevent any unnecessary and useless exertion upon their part to stem the tide of popular feeling, in establishing the laws upon the basis of the natural rights and obligations of man, upon the principles of perfect and equal justice.

To those who will have the patience to investigate, and candour in forming an opinion of the merits of the principles herein set forth, it will appear plain as the meridian sun, that so far from there being the least danger to be apprehended from their establishment to any portion of society, the social condition of those who under the present system are most advantageously situated would be incalculably improved, while their salutary operations would, in the course of a few generations, elevate the mass to the perfect enjoyment of peace, plenty, virtue and happiness ; like the principles of pure and undefiled religion, they bring “glad tidings of great joy to all people,” and “bear healing upon their wings,” which must ultimately cure all the temporal ills “which flesh is heir to.”

In all partizan or sectarian divisions, the business of the leaders is to

excite in the breasts of their followers fears of intended injuries from their opponents, contempt for their understandings, and every species of jealousy, hatred, and uncharitableness, against their principles, and too often against their persons; the success of the advocates of equal rights and obligations depends upon the diffusion and predominance of other and better feelings; the advocate of strict justice in social legislation, predicated upon, and in accordance with the laws of nature, will never expect to find aid from corruption, deception, or the excitement of passion or prejudice; asserting the rights of man upon principles comprehensible and just, his triumph becomes the triumph of truth over ignorance, of justice over fraud, of liberty over slavery.

Pursuing the happiness of the whole as the only means of securing the felicity of its parts, he will never adopt in his system of action, the absurdity so universal in practice, to degrade our fellow-creatures in order to make them better.

Having stated what are the rights and obligations of man, and shown that social happiness depends upon a general compliance with those obligations, that the reasoning power must, from its progressive nature, ultimately achieve the happiness of the human family; that the strong moral tendencies of our propensities and sentiments, where not corrupted or depraved by artificial, ignorant, and unjust legislation, are perfectly adapted for a condition of social and individual enjoyment.

Having also shown that the principles of natural equality are asserted as the basis of all our civil and political jurisprudence in the Declaration of Independence; that they are asserted as the rule of action by the acknowledged organs and leaders of the two great contending political parties that divide the country, that, nevertheless, no efficient means have been suggested or adopted for the purpose of investigating this subject, in comparison with which every other branch of science shrinks into insignificance; that no effort has been made to define in what consisted the largest liberty; that none had pretended to develop in clear and comprehensible terms, how far the inalienable and inherent rights of individuals extend, and what are their natural limits, and that none have promulgated this most important truth, that the inherent and inalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, are co-existent with, and eternally inseparable from the inherent and *inalienable obligation to apply his industry usefully*, for the support of his life, the defence of his liberty, and the promotion of his happiness, and drawn this natural inference, that republican equality can never exist, where the energies with which nature has endowed a citizen can by operation of law, force, or fraud, be converted to the use of another, except only in those instances where the strong are rightfully called upon to support the weak, in relieving them from the pressure of unavoidable misfortunes.

These are the principles of the largest liberty that a society can enjoy, the smallest that is consistent with genuine republicanism: he who wishes more, though a mendicant in condition is an aristocrat in principle—he who enjoys less though a Jefferson in sentiment is practically a slave.

The only hope for the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes is from the dissemination of these plain and great principles, and THEIR (*the working men's*) UNION to carry them into effect at the ballot boxes, the object must be to establish labor as the standard of, and

only subject of exchange to connect the obligation to CULTIVATE with the TITLE to LAND so that the common inheritance of man, the earth, shall not be shut up in unproductive barrenness while a man is ready to incorporate his industry with the soil to bring forth its treasures for the benefit of himself and society.

In opposition to these principles and the rights of the industrious we shall find arrayed the aristocracy in its various grades, some few of the sub-divisions of this expensive and useless weight which presses for support upon the farmer and mechanic it may be as well to particularize—and first in order as being more direct and unsophisticated in his mode of exacting support from the industry of others, we would place—THE THIEF! and next the loafer—or sponge.

Thirdly the aristocracy of office—a class who deriving more from the industry of others than their own labour would supply, are generally corrupted by the excess, and find their interests are adverse to the people.

4thly. Ninety-nine hundredths of those who are engaged in commercial pursuits.

5thly. An equal proportion of those who are of the legal profession engaged in studying and explaining the unfathomable mysteries of a barbarous and iniquitous system of laws of feudal origin, and

6th. Lastly those who by the inheritance of lands or money are enabled to revel in luxury upon rents or interest. The arguments which those respectable drones of the public hive who consume the honey but produce none, will use may be easily anticipated as they have been worn thread-bare, any time these thousand years last past; and first and loudest will resound the cry of Agrarianism. But my dear fellow-working men, I pray you will not start back in horror at the sound of this ruling cry of aristocracy until you fairly understand its meaning and its fair application in this contest, and when you have obtained clear ideas of the nature of Agrarianism, I doubt not your aversion will exceed that of any aristocrat in the land.

The term Agrarianism as used and understood in political discussions at the present day, is understood to mean an equal division of property or the recognized right of the idle, profligate, imprudent, and needy who have *no property*, to share with those *who have*, thus violating private property, destroying the stimulus to industry and encouraging idleness, vice and general depravity. When we reflect that all wealth is the *product of industry* we must admit that the title to wealth rests in those who have produced it by their *industry*, and as all the wealth of society is produced by the application of useful industry, it follows that the reality rich are the laboring classes, that they produce the wealth is certain but do they enjoy it? No, no! By the operation of aristocratic and unjust legislation, their private property is wrested from them—they are left to the mercy of the cunning; the strong and the profligate who create no property, who share with them by operation of law, who do create it, who squander what they receive and return and share again and again until labor becomes irksome and disgraceful and idleness, vice and depravity are spread abroad through the land. Thus you will perceive that the existing system of government is essentially Agrarian, that those who omit to exercise their inalienable and inherent obligations to apply their industry usefully, are supported by the industrious classes; that by this Agrarian system idleness and useless or pernicious industry are better fed, clothed, sheltered and respected than useful and productive industry. Every system of government that has ever existed, from the

beginning of time to this day, has been and is essentially Agrarian for Agrarianism and Aristocracy are terms of identical meaning, each signifying the power of the idle to prey upon the industrious.

It will be asserted by these privileged orders that all useful labor would cease if the power was not vested in them to drive the lower orders under the pressure of low wages and high prices to their daily toil.

To support this allegation it will be necessary to prove that the propensities perceptive and reflective faculties and moral sentiments natural to man, are not a part of his physical conformation, but incidents resulting from compulsory labor : if so, how much do the Aristocracy lose for the want of this salutary discipline ?

There will not be wanting—those who will accuse us of being the enemies of law and order, there can be no truth more worthy of universal acceptance than this “ that no man can be capable of enjoying rational liberty in whose mind there is not a predominating principle in favor of the maintainance of law and order.

The tendency of Aristocracy and despotism is to anarchy : their laws being partial and oppressive in their operation, separating the community into classes with antagonistic feelings, the rich despising the poor, and the poor feeling that they are not only despised, but oppressed by the rich, these are the true elements of anarchy.

Let the fearful hearts who shudder at the bugbear of anarchy point to the passage in the history of the world where anarchy has existed and where it has not been the result of heartless and unrelenting oppression, driving the people to madness and despair.

For our encouragement in the pursuit of our rights we have a just cause of exultation in the greatness of our numbers, the great facilities we possess for the dissemination of correct principles, the simple, comprehensible, yet efficient means for the attainment of our objects, the abrogation of landed monopoly and the establishment of labor as the only standard of value and subject of exchange. In addition to our own united exertions as working men we may rely for much valuable assistance from the following sources.

1st. From all friends of true religion, for the mammon of unrighteousness, that most terrific lion in the path to Zion will be removed. Another advantage which religion will derive from the adoption of those just principles of legislation will be the removal of every reason why men should advocate any particular doctrine, independent of the truth of that doctrine, thus removing the suspicion of hypocrisy from the minds of all, a suspicion which has been the cause of more persecution and infidelity than any other that can be named.

From the friends of the abolition of negro slavery we will derive a hearty, resolute and efficient support; they will not much longer be blind to the fact that the slavery to the slip of parchment, alias a deed, and to the operations of monied capital may be as oppressive and cruel as the slavery of the whip ; nay they may be assured that the surest, speediest and most salutary means of succeeding in their enterprize would be to pursue no middle course, but having drawn the sword of freedom to throw away the scabbard and resolve at once to contend for the freedom of the elements and the rights and obligations of mankind.

The enlightened friends of moral reform will find, upon reflection, that the objects for which they associate, can never be obtained but by the

adoption of these principles, the effect of which would naturally be to elevate the moral character, and equalize the social condition of all.

The friends of temperance will perceive that this principle alone will ever have the power to secure a complete triumph to their views—that they will extend their salutary control beyond the mere manufacture and use of intoxicating drinks, and enforce the principles of temperance in all things, and prevent men from making commodity of the weaknesses and vices of their neighbours.

In advocating the principles herein set forth, you will find yourself strongly opposed by those who have, or expect extraordinary advantages under the present system. Their social position will, in all such cases, sufficiently explain the grounds of their opposition; but the greatest difficulty in the path of social reform will be found in bringing the mind of the people to discriminate and clearly comprehend the difference between evils which are in the nature of things, and consequently irremediable, and evils which arise from the misarrangement of things, and which can be corrected only by better arrangements.

Many of you, no doubt, can call to mind the time when the frequent long and bloody wars that were waged upon each other by the two most enlightened nations of Europe, led to the belief that they were the natural enemies of each other, or in other words that Frenchmen had a natural propensity to kill Englishmen, and that it was equally natural for Englishmen to find gratification in killing Frenchmen. Other circumstances have ruled of late years, and we find them as nations and individuals cultivating and enjoying feelings of friendship and respect for one another.

Let two governments, by declaring war, render it necessary to exhaust all the energies of their citizens in efforts to destroy the lives and plunder the property of each other, and the people will have to bow to the circumstances created by such declaration of war, and be compelled to partake of the hostile feelings engendered thereby, and to share in the sufferings resulting therefrom; in all such cases you will find upon reflection that the people—those who have to fight the battles and pay the expenses would have preferred that their neighbors should have cultivated their fields in peace and enjoyed the fruits of their industry—unmolested had not unjust motives been created in them by unjust legislation.

There are cases of internal legislation, similar in their pernicious effects; as for instance, the law that creates currency, recognizing what is intrinsically worthless as the measure of all values and the grand controller of all property. Such a law, like the declaration of war by rendering the estimate of wealth uncertain, fluctuating and capricious, destroys moral honesty in the people, prevents the just distribution of the means of enjoyment, enslaving the useful and pampering the idle and profligate, and because the condition of things created by the operation of the laws instituting money, renders universal selfishness necessary to individuals, sects, parties, classes, and nations, where those laws exist. Men are led to believe that *the nature of man is at fault*, and to close their eyes to the fact that this state of things is the inevitable consequence and *natural result of the money power*.

That we should have a clear idea of its operation let us see how it will operate in connection with land monopoly. Let us suppose that an island is inhabited by the descendants of some individual pair, who making no will left it to their descendants, generally, their right generally equal

to cultivate the soil, the product fully protected in the hands of the producer.

Money is invented !—it is agreed that this money shall be the measure of values, and, being, at all times convertible into whatever may be desirable for pleasure, or support ; the just estimate of the gifts of nature, is immediately lost sight of, being no longer regulated by their intrinsic utility or the standard of labor. In this case the science of money making becomes the most interesting branch of knowledge.

The few who are most successful in its pursuit, finding it possessed of a tendency to concentrate in large masses are enabled to buy the right of their fellow men, to till the land, the ownership of the land, thus transferred from the laborer to the monopolist, he has no means of support but to become a hireling, for his labour he obtains a portion of the glittering bribe for which he parted with his natural, (and did just laws prevail) his inalienable right to cultivate the soil. The aristocracy of land owners exact exorbitant rents and thereby cause a large proportion of the soil to lie unimproved. The land that is uncultivated by diminishing the supply, enhances the value of the means of subsistence and increases competition among the laborers which necessarily lowers the price of labor or wages. The next operation of money will be to buy up and forestall all the necessaries of life, the laborer who produces all the wealth of the island soon finds that excessive and unremitting toil will barely keep himself and family from starving. Poverty, ignorance and vice follow, for you will ever find that he who suffers unjustly will generally be led to practice injustice. This will ever be the state of things where land is the subject of traffic and money the measure of values.

In the forgoing pages it is hoped that the reader will find sufficient proof that all the ills that afflict society, are produced by accumulation, monopoly and aristocracy. Now if it can be shewn that these evils are created and perpetuated by LAW, by laws that were enacted in ages when the philosophy of the mind and the rights of man were so little known as to be entirely inoperative upon legislation, can it be too daring in a republican patriot to hope with confidence that the suffering part of his fellow citizens, the mechanics, farmers and laborers (each one of whom has if he pleases, as potent a voice in making or repealing laws as the most wealthy and learned of the aristocracy) will unite to burst the bonds that entwine around them and chain them to the chariot wheels of the vain, the idle and the useless. By the existing system of jurisprudence living man is treated with contempt and society is governed by ignorant and barbarous customs, founded in conquest, or fraud, or laws, dictated by the sword.

Man's social nature and perfect dependence upon the fruits of industry for support and improvement are natural circumstances, necessarily resulting in the enactment of laws to regulate intercourse and to protect property. The proper sphere of legislation is to *protect rights not to create them*, and as the rights of society can never be greater than the aggregate of the rights of its members, and as a right created by law, must confer some portion of that aggregate on favored individuals, the certain result is mastery on the one side and slavery upon the other to the extent of the privilege granted.

By keeping legislation within its natural and just limits you prevent it from ever becoming a science—its provisions would be simple, clearly comprehensible to the commonest capacity.

2d. By withdrawing protection from all property claimed as such, which had been achieved by useless or pernicious industry—such as gambling, pandering to luxury and licentiousness, intemperance and profligacy.

1st. By withdrawing protection from all property the title to which is based upon representative of value, and not upon the equal amount of industry usefully applied in its production.

3d. By vesting the title to land in the state or community with the obligation to permit any human being to cultivate for his exclusive benefit such parts of the land as he may choose, provided that no other person or persons are in possession, intending to render it productive by incorporating their own labor with the productive energies of the land in question would limit its action. But by the system of political and civil jurisprudence now in operation, derived from the sources which I have heretofore enumerated, (all of which are predicated upon the false presumption that *laws can create rights*; the plain and simple principles of justice are subverted, and we have substituted in their place an abstruse incomprehensible and mysterious jargon, which is called the science of the law to expound these laws, gives distinction, wealth, popularity and political preponderance to a certain class who derive all their importance from the utter inadequacy of the system to do what the principles herein set forth would certainly accomplish, i. e. to prevent dishonesty and secure to every man the just reward of his useful exertions.

You my fellow citizens, by this system, are not only robbed of all that goes to support this complicated, extravagant and corrupt machinery, but you are robbed of (what is of more importance to yourselves and your descendants) the useful exertions of those talents which are employed in illustrating and explaining the endless obscurities and absurdities of the law, this branch of the aristocracy verify to the letter, the truth of the saying “**THAT THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD.**”

The mercantile interest, the monied interest, the banking, stock jobbing currency, gambling, &c. absorb the mental energies which properly employed would elevate and instruct the laboring classes in the just interchange of mental for physical wealth, but which is now arrayed against them; fed, clothed and sheltered at the working man's expense, contemning, despising and shunning their benefactors, surely here again “**THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD.**” He is abroad, but he is sent abroad by the laws. If the laws were just, the people would act no injustice, the social nature of man and his dependence upon industry, were motives for the enactment of and submission to laws. After the enactment of laws the laws govern, motive, did they render it impossible to enjoy or protect property acquired by any other means than useful, mental or physical exertion, the motive for acquiring by other means would cease.

Were the natural right of man to use the gifts of nature not unjustly restricted, and his life and comfort sure to depend upon his industry, we should soon find the motive to idleness had ceased to operate.

The laws create the motives that cause enmity to exist among men, by creating rights. instead of defending those that already existed, previous to all human legislation, they induce and nourish all manner of uncharitableness, prejudice and injustice, separating the intellectual from the physical strength and mechanical ingenuity of society, and uniting those who should be the instructors and improvers of the race in a position hostile to the rights, interests and virtues of the masses.

This operation of Law Drafts by its irresistible power, the best talent of society from their duties, and renders the power to live without the performance of any social duty, the test of respectability, while those inducements are held out by the laws to the aristocracy, you must not expect the least aid in the improvement of your condition from any branch of that class of your fellow citizens. Such as support themselves by commerce and speculation by gambling, vending intoxicating liquors, keeping dens of prostitution and stealing, by usury by the land which they do not cultivate themselves are all interested to perpetuate a system of legislation which protects with scrupulous care the proceeds of pernicious industry and which sacrifices and enslaves the usefully productive citizen, from these you can of course expect no assistance, being all practical agrarians, they will (so long as they find themselves in possession of wealth, power and popularity by their demoralizing and vicious courses) stand opposed to laws that would perfectly protect private property.

The literati and press you will find very reluctant to yield you aid in this great cause ; deriving as they do most of their patronage from the aristocracy.

The happiness of society can only be achieved by the general co-operation of these three great powers, viz : the *mental*, *mechanical* and *agricultural*. The proper business and means of support of the first is to diffuse moral, scientific, and intellectual improvement and refinement throughout society.

Of the second to provide houses, clothing, instruments of science and implements for husbandry.

Of the third to cultivate the earth and furnish the food and luxuries that support life.

Should the husbandmen of a country find themselves possessed of the power to subsist without the aid of the two other powers and should in its exercise raise no more than was sufficient to support *themselves*, how complete would be the ruin of the *other classes* ?

Could the mechanic or artisan in like manner withdraw from the performance of his social duties the husbandman would be without implements, science without the instruments necessary for improvement or instruction, and both without houses to shelter them from the fury of the elements.

It will be replied with truth that the cases supposed can never by any possibility occur, but we find that with respect to the other class, those that wield the greatest mental power, are in precisely the same social attitude towards the working classes that the working classes would be to them were the cases supposed above, realized.

THE ARISTOCRACY ARE TRULY THE SCHOOLMASTER THAT IS ABROAD. Their natural duties are neglected, the people whom they should instruct and improve in return for the proceeds of industry which they consume. Find themselves despised for defects which their contemners should have corrected, excluded from their society as something common and unclean, a consequence flowing directly from the Agrarian operation of the laws, which permit the cunning to loll in luxury and ease upon the wealth created by and properly belonging to the working man.

Think not my fellow citizens that I wish to foster prejudice and excite your ire against your fellow men.

The Aristocracy are not to blame, their privileges and immunities as well as your privations are alike attributable to ignorant and unjust legislation. The tyranny that they exercise, the oppressions that you bear, the vices, crimes and sufferings of all are monuments of the omnipotence for GOOD or for EVIL of the laws of society. If you had the ascendancy that they possess, *you* would act from the same motives which influence *them* and they in your situation, would have to suffer the same injustice that now afflicts you. Some of our most populous legislators recently here in this boasted land of liberty even in the halls of Congress have asserted that it was in the inherent nature of society that the many should forever be the property of the few, that there would forever exist a real if not ostensible ownership of the people by the aristocracy.

That there has always been this ownership of the many, by the few, is proved by history and experience, but most lame and impotent is the conclusion that because it has always existed it must exist forever; it has always existed because the few gave the law to the whole, and those laws were ever designed to perpetuate ignorance among the people, but thanks to the mechanic of Guttenburgh, the press sends the rays of the sun of science into the darkest corners of the land, stimulating the spirit of enquiry in every mind, and most assuredly the time will soon arrive when the people of the United States (who if they are the property of the aristocracy will no longer continue so than that period when they shall be sufficiently intelligent to throw off their *chains*) *will unite the labor of the country in its own defence and recognizing the natural and indissoluble identity of interest that exists among the usefully industrious* come to the ballot box.

Their Motto—Equal rights—Equal obligations—Privilege to none—Justice to all.

Individual self dependence the sure means of universal Independence.

Peace—Plenty—Virtue and Happiness.

The practical means for bringing about this "social reform" are briefly these—

1st. To form National, State, County, Town, and Ward Institutes, (composed exclusively of men who depend upon their own useful labor for support,) for improving the social condition of man, thus placing the science of government upon the same basis as the other arts and sciences; thus opening sources of political knowledge to the working class, where they may receive it without deception and fraud. Let none be members but those who support themselves by useful labor, *i. e.* in the production of food, shelter, or in giving instructions in useful knowledge. Let none continue members who accept office, or leave their occupation for some other not useful to society. Let not this institute consider that the laws are just until they produce justice in the actions of all the rational subjects over whom they have authority. Let it be a maxim that in order to produce justice in the actions of men, it is necessary, by the operation of law, to prevent them from enjoying any thing obtained by injustice, and to protect each citizen who produces wealth, in the enjoyment of the full value of the wealth he has created; and also, that the great obstacles to social equality are, 1st, the right conferred by law (but in violation of the law of nature) to hold a title to land without the obligation of useful tillage, the natural title to land vesting in communities in trust for the use of him who will put forth his industry to render it productive; and 2d, the institution of money as a means of exchange.

In order to obtain the desired reform, let us give premiums for such essays as shall shew the best practical means of assailing not the aristocrats, but the aristocratic laws and usages of the land, pointing out the best means to prevent our fellow citizens from living without performing their duties, or without giving value for what they receive, and thus by identifying the interests of all, to

BRING THE SCHOOLMASTER HOME ;

to bring the INTELLECT to exchange value for value with INGENUITY and LABOUR ; to bring the mental power now estranged from us or arrayed against us into habits of social intercourse, diffusing knowledge and improving morals in themselves no less than in us ; enjoying the bounties of Providence, without feeling want or the fear of want for themselves or their descendants, or being racked with anxious fears for the morals of their children ; for were not the passions of mankind, through the operation of MONEY, subjects of speculation, means would soon be found to perfect the system of moral culture, so arranging circumstances, that the consequences arising out of unjust or immoral conduct would be the only punishment required, and perfectly adapted to answer the best end of penal statutes, being adequate to prevent the repetition of the offence.

In penning these pages, I have endeavored to give you the whole doctrine of the LARGEST LIBERTY. I have not taken counsel of time-serving-cringing expediency ; I feel assured I have not overrated the ability of the human mind to progress until it arrives at the goal we have in view. It may be that the time is now ripe for the assertion of these principles, if it is it will be shewn in a popular organization to carry them into effect ; if not, I as well as you, my fellow-citizens, will submit to the circumstances of the times cheerfully, feeling that a people who have the right of universal suffrage, will always have as perfect a system of government as their intelligence and virtue merits ; and conscious that I have planted the banner upon the "outward wall" of freedom ; that I have pointed out the grave of oppression ; have laid out the line up to which political and social reform may—nay, will surely reach, beyond which it never will extend.

That my dearly loved country may be the first to adopt it, and by its adoption render herself still more conspicuous as the guiding star of the nations in pursuit of Universal Emancipation, is the prayer of

LOUIS W. RYCKMAN.